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PEACE
WITH THE
JACOBINS
IMPOSSIBLE.

BY WILLIAM PLAYFAIR,
AUTHOR OF THE COMMERCIAL AND POLITICAL ATLAS.

"How can you expect that in this uncertain and wavering
state in which you are, foreign powers can consent to treat
with a convention which is every day dragged through the
dirt; because it is the LOWEST DISGRACE to treat with an
executive power which is without intermission denounced,
humiliated and tottering."

J. P. BRISSOT to his constituents, in May, 1793.

LONDON;

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JANUARY the 27th,

1794.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

PEACE

WITH THE

JACOBINS

IMPOSSIBLE.

NOTHING can be more unjust than to represent the present war, carried on by the principal powers of Europe against France, as being a war of kings against liberty and the people; it is indeed represented as such by those men who wish to stir up anarchy and confusion, that they may themselves profit by the general wreck, and it is believed to be so by some few persons, who, without evil intentions themselves, believe with facility whatever is asserted with confidence.

The present contest is that of freedom and order, against anarchy and despotism ; it is the contest of men who have something, against men who have nothing ; and every proprietor and every honest man is engaged in it, not only in England but all over Europe.

I do not hesitate to call the advocates of French principles JACOBINS, in whatever country they may be found, and of whatever rank they may be ; and that I may not be misunderstood, I mean by Jacobins, all those persons who at the same time that they see without horror what passes in France, exclaim against those men who wish to preserve persons and property in other countries.

But it is to you honest and industrious citizens, to you fathers of families, and proprietors of all descriptions, that I address myself ; to you who do not wish to see rape, murder, and plunder established, under the false name of patriotism and liberty : and I am happy to think, that in every

country of Europe you make the most numerous class of its inhabitants, and I shall endeavour, in as short a manner as possible, to prove the necessity of vigorous measures, in order to preserve yourselves from those evils, under which the oppressed and deluded French nation labours at this time—

“ The laws without execution ; the constituted authorities impotent and disgraced ; crimes unpunished ; property of every kind attacked ; personal safety violated ; the morals of the people corrupted ; no constitution ; no government ; no justice ;—such are the features of French anarchy,” according to the very words of Brissot*, one of their leaders, at the time when the republic was declared, and the king dethroned : and who was a philosopher of the Jacobin sort, and one of the most violent chiefs in support of anarchy, until it turned against himself and his friends.

* See Brissot's Address to his Constituents, translated from the French, with an incomparable and masterly preface. Printed for John Stockdale.

I do not think it necessary to prove, though I can do it whenever I think fit, that there are Jacobins in this country; because I take it for granted, that every man of plain common sense sees, that those men can be nothing else, who were the advocates of the French revolution three years ago, and continue to be so still.

When men complain against the rigour of English judges and juries, who punish with regret those who sow sedition and would overturn the present constitution, why do they wish us to copy the French, who punish a single unguarded word with the guillotine? Can such men be believed to be serious?

Can Doctor Priestley, for instance, be supposed really to prefer the French government to the English, while he submits to all the humiliation of persecution in England, as he pretends, to the honour of being a legislator in France? The fate of the too famous Thomas Paine shows that the doctor was right, when he refused the honour
that

that was offered to him; and if his candour were but equal to his abilities, he would abandon openly a cause, which has led to the scaffold in one day twenty-one of his best philosophers, (Note A) without any legal trials or crimes proved against them; for after having merited death fifty times for what they had done, they were condemned to die for the only public action in their lives that merited some praise; they had the audacity to wish to set bounds to that anarchy which they had themselves created, and of which they became at so early a period the victims.

The anarchists celebrated, by a salute of artillery, the triumph which they obtained over their former masters; and it was a real triumph to all good citizens, when those men who had so lately commanded the massacres of September, and who had imbrued their hands in the blood of their virtuous sovereign, fell under the ax, which, with a cruel ingenuity, they had themselves constructed, and with an unrelenting fury, kept employed. (Note B)

It

It was then that the excess of the evil seemed to begin to work a cure ; and it is a matter of considerable consolation, that for several months past, the violence with which the party that ruled last winter has been pursued by the Jacobin club which they founded, is still greater than that with which they persecute their declared enemies ; and it will be remembered to the latest posterity with pleasure, that when Brissot and his colleagues, but a few months before adored in Paris, were beheaded, it was applauded still louder than when they murdered their unfortunate queen, (Note c) whom those same wretches had dragged from her palace to a dungeon : and it will appear evident, that even in their present degraded and ferocious state, the multitude makes (involuntarily perhaps) some distinction between vice and misfortune.

Can we believe that those persons, who wanted European powers to treat with the ministers of last year, and thereby attempt to avoid a war, were sincere ; when now that the rulers of France, with whom they would have

have treated, are almost all come to an untimely end, and yet they hold the same language?—No—it cannot be; they are certainly not sincere.

Of the six ministers who ruled under the faction of Brissot, at the time that the pretended friends of this country wished for a treaty, one alone is now in public favour, two are guillotined, and two have done justice upon themselves with their own hands: (Note D) the sixth is saved by accident in a foreign dungeon, where the hand of despotism, as it is termed by the Jacobins, saves him from that death which would have probably been his lot had he stayed amongst his friends.

The enemies of this war (for of war in general every man ought to be an enemy) say, that wherever *we can fight we may treat*; but these gentlemen should remember, that although by fighting you certainly acknowledge the existence of your adversary, you do not acknowledge thereby his honour, his integrity, or your confi-

dence in his word, and that is necessary to a treaty. Thus you fight with a robber, but you cannot take his word, and put yourself in his power.

That it was necessary to fight will never be doubted. Our allies were attacked abroad, and the basis of our government at home; to those who dispute this last, I can but answer that none are so deaf as those that will not hear, and it is only a matter of regret that those who undermine our government cannot be treated *à la Française*, since it is the French system that they have taken for their model.

Had England separated her cause from that of justice, and of the other European powers; had she made a treaty with men who trample under foot all laws human and divine, (Note E) the probable consequence would have been as it was with Spain, that her offers would have been rejected with disdain by those mad republicans. But had they not been so, England in a general war, without one ally but the
Brisotines

Brisotines themselves, would have been obliged to keep up an army, a navy, and a militia, at very nearly the same expence that the war now costs ; and what is worse, she would have been obliged to permit the importation of French Jacobins and Jacobin principles into this country. In a word, the ax would have been laid to the root of the tree of our happy constitution ; and if there had been no war, instead of seeing at this time Fisch Palmer, Muir, and Margarot sent to Botany Bay to cull simples and reflect on their imprudence, we should have seen a *permanent guillotine* in every town, and a *guillotine ambulante* for the use of villages. The water of the Thames, instead of carrying the ships of our merchants, would be stained with the blood of our merchants, and would deposit on its deserted banks their deformed carcases. (Note F) The heads of our nobles would be laid low ; and even those men, who now incite us to discontent, would, as in France, be the victims of their own system.

Does Mr. Fox think that he would be more fortunate than Sylvian Bailly, surnamed l'heureux (the happy)? or is there any man who can lay claim to a better fate than those heroes of the first National Assembly, who have almost all successively been the victims of their own projects?

But what a picture do I draw! No, our country could never be in that state; all the horrors of ancient civil wars might be renewed, but the example of France, and the true patriotism of Englishmen, would make us unite. We might perish in the field, but never would Englishmen break the sacred doors of the prison house to search victims for the assassin's knife (Note G), Never would a strange land see the proprietors of English acres scattered on a foreign soil (Note H), they would die or live upon their own: No, ye searchers of discord, ye enemies of England, this island and its inhabitants are not suited for your principles; we may be loaded with debt, we may not always be successful in war, but we have a
 God

God whom we worship, a Constitution that we revere, and a King that we love ; and we have not yet learned to make those fatal distinctions in *the origin of property* that subvert society (Note 1), and render pillage and plunder acts of justice and of patriotism.

I pretend not to vindicate nor explain the manner in which the war has been carried on, for it is a subject that I do not understand, though to find fault with what is past is generally not very difficult, particularly when success is wanting ; but I do not consider the necessity of the war and the conduct of the war as being connected together,

I cannot help considering the events of the last months as being unfortunate, but all taken together we have certainly gained by the campaign more than we ever did by any foreign war before : however, even if this is not the case ; the war was begun for self-defence, to protect order and government
 attacked

attacked by the rulers of France in all countries (Note κ), and it seems much more than likely that we shall not only succeed in that, but that Britain is certainly in the way of obtaining some possessions, which will be of the utmost value to her manufactures and commerce, although that is not the object, for when attacked by a robber, it is not to plunder him that is the object, but to save one's self from being robbed; such is certainly the principal object of this war, although indemnification for the expence becomes a secondary one.

Since Brissot who expiated his crimes upon the scaffold has published his letter to his constituents, the plans of France upon the governments of other nations are no longer any secret, neither is the internal despotism of France concealed, it appears in its true colours, in all its horror: it may indeed be said, that when Citoyen Brissot preaches against anarchy, it is Satan reproving

proving sin. I agree that it is so, and give no credit to him for exposing in its true colours that system of insurrection, of anarchy, and of murder, which he preached up against his King, and against all authority, until it begun to thwart his own particular views, and go contrary to his interest; but all Europe is indebted to him for having unveiled the plans of himself and his friends.—His address to his constituents ought to be printed in all languages, and put before the eyes of the inhabitants of every country, as it is an undeniable testimony of the terrible effects of anarchy even to its promoters. What did the enlightened republicans think, says Brissot, before the 10th of August? Men who wished for liberty, not only for their own country, but for all Europe? They believed that they could generally establish it by exciting the governed against the governors, in letting the people see the facility and advantages of such insurrections.

This

This is excellent indeed; and shows us very clearly what we might have expected by entering into friendship with France, and becoming, as we must thereby have done, the enemies of all other rational nations.

The history of the atrocities of the French, particularly during these last twelve months, might alone be sufficient to prevent any one from thinking of changes or revolutions, until they at least see how this will end; but, strange as it may appear, many people are yet advocates for the French system, not certainly that they wish to eat along with Robespierre*, or to amuse themselves with binding an affectionate and amiable woman to the guillotine to see her husband murdered, nor in making the wives and children of men, whom they had unjustly imprisoned, drink and dance by way of insulting their misery;

* Alluding to his horrid cannibal wish, to eat a pye made of the different sovereigns of Europe.

neither

neither do I believe that they would join Collot d'Herbois in turning canister shot upon the richest and most respectable inhabitants of a town, accompanied by the singing and dancing of a drunken rabble : but I see that such transactions do not excite the horror that they ought, and I search for the cause.

It does not probably appear to those men who can see these crimes without horror, that they are the natural effects of the principles laid down by those philosophers of the constituent assembly ; they consider such horrors as being accidental, or the crimes of a few individuals ; whereas they are the natural, the necessary consequences of the doctrines of Rabaut, Seyes, La Fayette, and such men.

There was but one man in Europe, who, at the time, foresaw and foretold the misfortunes of France ; a man, who to a sound judgement, adds a very superior degree of imagination ; for it required such to con-

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ceive

ceive the effects of so unexampled a state of things, and for once, at least, experience has vindicated him from the charge of passion and exaggeration, which his enemies and detractors brought against him. Mr. Burke's imagination and judgement are great, but the crimes of anarchy are unjust, and therefore he, as a prophet, and all future writers as historians, will fall short of the description.

“ I was of opinion,” says Brissot, “ that
 “ this doctrine of eternal insurrection, could
 “ not but be fatal to the people and to
 “ liberty, since it must draw after it pil-
 “ lage and massacres, which must weary
 “ out and disgust the nation with the re-
 “ publican form of government.” Thus
 spoke the man in 1793, who supported
 the opinions of La Fayette in 1789*.

* Brissot was supposed by many to write La Fayette's speeches for him, and although it was perhaps not true, it is clear that a similarity of opinions caused the belief of it.

But

But he had at that latter period, the experience, that insurrection might continue too long; or rather, that once begun, it could not be stopped: he begun by speaking from theory, and finished by speaking from experience.

It may appear likewise to certain democrats, who, though mistaken, are not actuated by wrong motives, that the great mass of the people are rendered happier by all this; but no mistake can be greater. The Jacobin Brissot, taught by experience, again says, "that order is as necessary for the
 " citizen who does *not* possess any thing,
 " as for the citizen who possesses pro-
 " perty; because the first can live only by
 " constant labour, and there can be no
 " constant work where there is no constant
 " safety, both of life and of property to
 " the rich."

Such a declaration from the pen of one of those men, who conducted Jacobin clubs and insurrections, is worth a volume of ar-

guments ; and when added to the fact, that the French people in a mass, are the most wretched on the face of the earth, and under the most despotic government, nothing more can be said upon the subject.

There remains then, but one view to take of the war, its necessity being proved ; and this is, the probability of success, before we shall have exhausted our resources.

That there are twenty-five millions of people in France, and only half that number in Britain and Ireland, has been long and often repeated ; as this, however, did not prove a reason for our being beat in former wars, when we have sometimes stood alone, it cannot certainly be considered as one, when we have all Europe on our side, Sweden and Denmark excepted.

In the present case, we may be assured, that our allies are full as serious as ourselves in the affair ; as they are still, if possible, more deeply concerned than we are. Spain and Austria have undoubtedly more to fear, and

and more to revenge : and, as to fear, every continental power must see, that either France must be kept at bay, or they must all fall.

The allies, united by interest, are much more numerous by far than ever France was. And France, divided and diminished, whatever may be the momentary effort of the democratic rage, is far below herself. France, when peopled with twenty-five millions, might, perhaps, possess six millions of men fit to bear arms*. Of these, at least one-sixth are enemies of the present system, and counteract them, which employs another sixth to keep peace at home ; so that there remain at most but four millions ; out of this, there is one quarter killed, or dead of those diseases that anarchy, want, or warfare, occasion†.

The

* Twenty-four millions of souls ; twelve of which are women :—remains twelve : of these, half are under or over age.

† This calculation, though a rude one, is thought to estimate the remaining force of France much too high,

The immense number of men in France, is then already greatly diminished; disorder, discord, and disease, being but a bad nursery, they will not recruit so quickly: thus then we may count upon a great diminution of their numbers, although the guillotine, and the despotic orders of the convention, by obliging every one to march, furnishes as yet, great armies. The army is likewise the resource of those who want occupation and bread; for, as all manufactures and arts are at a stand, it is clear that the trade of a soldier is better than that of a cultivator, who, after bringing home his harvest, runs the risque of being put to death for having it in his possession. The sovereign people, the sans culottes, enlightened by a new philosophy, look with anger, avidity, and disdain on those men, who dare to profit by their individual industry; and where there is no law, and no order, the profession the high, and indeed, according to the best information, men grow scarce in France; in most villages, and in many towns, they can only find old men and boys.

least

least dangerous and most honourable, that of a robber, is preferred: it is this preference that gives to France considerable armies, but which at the same time insures us success.

Although the last campaign has not ended so brilliantly as it begun, yet, when we consider that in March last the French had overrun a vast extent of the Imperial dominions, and had attacked Holland. And that they are now reduced to something less than their own dominions; that instead of menacing on all sides, they are themselves menaced; that their territories beyond the seas are all either seized, or on the point of being so; that a considerable part of their navy is destroyed, and one of their principal ports almost annihilated, (Note L) nobody can say that the campaign has been an unsuccessful one. With necessity on one hand, and success on the other, anything like despondency would be ridiculous. Efforts are necessary, as well as union amongst those who have the same interest
and

and so good a cause ; and success is then, as far as in human things it can be, certain.

It would be folly to say that the French do not fight bravely, on the contrary they fight like madmen, which, at the same time that it annoys their enemies, is a certain proof that their great efforts, unsustained by order, industry, and justice, cannot continue long.

As upon the event of this dispute depends the happiness of all Europe, and the present order of things, and although the day-labourer, who is not a proprietor, would greatly lose by the change ; yet, it is certain, that the proprietor and the rich man has more to fear than the poor, because he is at present better in his affairs. It is then at this time that the rich should contribute largely to support a war so just in itself, and upon which the existence of their fortunes depends. Patriotism should be spurred on by private interest, and the representatives

presentatives of the nation should distribute the new burthens necessary in such a manner, as to make riches and luxury contribute most.

Proprietors of lands, nobles, merchants, and monied men of all descriptions, consider, that though you have the same right to enjoy your thousands that the poor man hath to his small earnings, yet you play a deeper game—you profit most by the present order, and should pay the most to preserve it.

In the year 1788, the capital of France consisted of the finest buildings in Europe, and by far the most magnificently furnished within. The streets were crouded with elegant and rich carriages; nor was it merely show, there was an immensity of real wealth, and the revenues of the French nobility and clergy exceeded all calculation. The public treasury exhausted, demanded economy and support, and it was from the rich that it was expected, and

D

from

from whom alone it could have been had. Had those men who profited the most by the then order of things, been willing to part with a very small portion of what to them was superfluous, order would have been preserved; but they refused. Avarice reasons little, but luxury and dissipation reason less; and what has been the consequence?

There is not a nation in Europe which has not seen the remains of that nobility and clergy, escaped from massacre in their native land, straying from place to place, without revenue and without resource.—The description of men, the most opulent, and the most to be envied, have, in four years time, become the most wretched, and the most to be pitied; having nothing left but their honour, and that consolation which a sense of having acted right can alone give *. The superb city of Paris is

* That they have been very imprudent is clear; but imprudence and criminality are totally different.

converted into a receptacle for every thing that is wicked and wretched: low debauchery is substituted in the place of elegant luxury, and its inhabitants are reduced to the necessity of making it a capital crime to have more loaves of bread in a family than ought to be consumed in one day; cannons are planted at the gates, to hinder the poor peasant from carrying home to his little starving family either victuals to eat, or fuel to warm them. Such is the picture of Paris, and such is the terrible but useful lesson held up to all mankind, by facts that have originated in the unwillingness of the rich landholders and clergy in France to assist the national revenue in a time of need.

May the lesson given be as useful as it ought, and then, the wildness of French anarchy will be amply repaid to the human race, by the love of religion, order, and government, with which it will inspire the inhabitants of all other countries!

N O T E S.

Note A.

BRISOT, Guadet, Genfons, and the other deputies, were republicans, in the strongest sense of the term; they were likewise men of considerable talents; it was principally their writings and discourses, that gilded with the false appearance of philosophy and philanthropy, the same system of cruelty, anarchy, and injustice, that led them to the scaffold. These men at last found out their error; they wished to establish order, but found it impossible, and they experienced what they might have expected, that men to whom they had preached revolt and insurrection, would profit by their doctrines, as often as they found it convenient for themselves. Thus, our twenty-one philosophers and lawgivers, were guillotined by their disciples, as soon as they intimated a desire to suppress the influence of the sans culottes, who fill the galleries of the convention, and force its members to vote according to their will.

Note

Note B.

It was under the auspices of Brissot's party that the revolutionary tribunal first began to be in activity, and it was his party that overturned the first constitution; which, though a very ridiculous, imperfect, and impracticable one, had nevertheless laid down rules for proceeding with justice and circumspection in criminal trials.

Note C.

It is not a little curious, as a trait of human nature scarcely to be explained, that, when Mademoiselle Cordé was executed for the assassination of Marat, no violent signs of indignation appeared from the multitude as might have been expected. It is in vain that this is attributed to her beauty, as finer women than she was have met with no pity from the populace of Paris; and if we are to consider the funeral and honours granted to the wretch whom she had assassinated—it was not indifference.

Note D.

1. Kersaint. Guillotined.
2. Le Brun. Ditto.
3. Roland. Stabbed himself, on the high road near Rouen.
4. Claviere. Stabbed himself in prison, the day before his trial.

5. Bour-

5. Bournonville. Delivered up by Dumourier to the Prince de Cobourg, and thereby saved, though in prison.

6. Pache. Mayor of Paris, at present.

Such is the fate of the different ministers who ruled as executive power in France, at the time that we were solicited to treat with them.

Note E.

The French are not to be considered as running to all these excesses for want of laws, but to be as despots in general are, regardless of laws; they have established a revolutionary power, which is above every thing, and trample equally upon the laws of God, of nature, and those of their own making; and, in short, upon the very first principle of their revolution, which is freedom of opinion.

Note F.

As equalization of property is a Jacobin principle, and it is a clear point that the goods of every man who is guillotined are public property, it is of course an object of importance to chuse men that are rich, and nothing is so easy: thus at Bourdeaux, all the first merchants of that once opulent city are either in prison or already guillotined; three strokes of the guillotine, says a member of the convention, have cut off the heads of three brothers *suspected of incivism*, and produced twenty-two millions to the nation. Lyons was menaced with the like, and the

the well known acuteness of its inhabitants foresaw the blow: resistance, ill supported, has rendered that rich city, containing two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, a heap of ruins. Gunpowder and grapeshot have been used to satiate the cruelty of its oppressors, and to hasten their impatient vengeance; and the unfortunate victims, torn and half killed, have been knocked on the head by a cruel populace.—Nature shrinks at such horrors, unknown till now in the annals of the human race; but the French cannibals, far from a sentiment of commiseration, celebrate these executions with a savage dance, and the impious cry of *vive la republique*, when it is torn to pieces by themselves; nor is there a town in France where the same method of plundering the rich is not practised. Inhabitants of Birmingham, Manchester, and other wealthy and happy towns of England, reflect on this, reflect on these melancholy examples, and then determine in what manner you should treat the sowers of sedition, and those who want to overturn order and government.

Note s.

The people massacred in the prisons, to the number of above eight thousand, were chiefly put there on purpose, under various pretences, and there were not one hundred for capital offences: about three hundred were known to be criminal, though it was not proved; and the others were all there without any crime whatever against them.

Note

Note H.

I do not mean by this to throw any reflection upon the French emigrants, who mostly repent the error of leaving their country.

Note I.

From the beginning of the revolution, its perverse progress may be traced to the unfortunate distinction made by the constituent assembly, between the different sorts of property, as to the sacredness of their origin: this admits and demands a long discussion; but it will one day be made evident, that while all property is not equally sacred, and under the protection of not the law, but lawgivers, no order can exist in society.

Note K.

From the beginning of the revolution, French emissaries have been employed in other countries, though our English Jacobins deny it: Brissot, however, speaks plainly of this; "We were bound, says he, to encourage the movements of Ireland towards liberty, and to turn the English colonies topsy turvy, and disturb England by stirring up discontents in Scotland."

Note L.

The moment that it appeared that Toulon could not serve as a center of re-union to the royalists in the south of France, it is clear that to keep it was useless, and to abandon it advantageous, but dishonourable. The revolt of part of the inhabitants, and other circumstances in forcing us to abandon it, have saved our honour, and served our interest.

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The last article was published on the 8th of February, 1793; and, in page 44, the reader will find the two following paragraphs—the first will, most probably, soon be verified; the latter speaks for itself—

ENGLAND has NOTHING to FEAR, and FRANCE may REPENT of its FOLLY.

"The French have, both publicly and privately, declared that they will send one hundred thousand men to invade

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invade this country : there is little doubt but they will attempt it, if it was for no other purpose but to rid their country of part of its unfortunate and wretched inhabitants : whether they go to the bottom of the sea in their attempt to come over, or are destroyed at the mouth of our cannon, would be of no consequence to the National Convention, as from the effect of their proceedings, a famine must, in a short time, take them off were they to stay in their own country."

" By their equality they have destroyed nobility and gentry; of course, all artizans in every branch of business tending to luxury, are out of employ, and are obliged to live as a prey upon the public. For instance : What would become of the tradesmen in London, and the public at large, were the nobility and gentry to be chased out of the country? This must be better felt than it can be described, as it is well known to every individual, that all arts, sciences, and trade, have flourished, and still prosper, by the wants of the great and opulent of this kingdom."

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The following extracts are taken from the Translator's Preface to the above work.

"The translator of the above work brings forward to the English tribunal of opinion, the testimony of a witness beyond all exception. His competence is undoubted. He knows every thing which concerns this revolution to the bottom. He is a chief actor in all the scenes which he presents. No man can object to him as a royalist; the royal party, and the Christian religion, never had a more determined enemy. In a word, it is **BRISSOT**.—It is Brissot the Republican, the Jacobin, and the Philosopher, who is brought to give an account of Jacobinism, and of Republicanism, and of Philosophy."

"The English reader will draw from this work of Brissot, and from the result of the last struggles of this party, some useful lessons. He will be enabled to judge of the information of those, who have undertaken to guide and enlighten us, and who, for reasons best known to themselves, have chosen to paint the French Revolution and its consequences in brilliant and flattering colours.—They will know how to appreciate the liberty of France, which has been so much magnified in England.—They will do justice to the wisdom and goodness of their Sovereign and his Parliament, who have put them into a state of defence, in the war audaciously made upon us in favour of that kind of liberty.—When we see (as here we must see) in their true colours the character and policy of our enemies, our gratitude will become an active principle. It will produce a strong and zealous co-operation with the efforts of our government, in favour of a constitution under which we enjoy advantages, the full value of which, the querulous weakness of human nature requires sometimes the opportunity of a comparison, to understand and to relish."

"Our confidence in those who watch for the public will not be lessened. We shall be sensible, that to alarm us in the late circumstances of our affairs, was not for our molestation, but for our security. We shall be sensible that this alarm was not ill-timed,—and that it ought to have been given, as it was given, before the enemy had time fully to mature and accomplish their plans, for reducing us to the condition of France, as that condition is faithfully and without exaggeration described in the following work. We now have our arms in our hands: we have the means of opposing the sense, the courage, and the resources of England, to the deepest, the most craftily devised, the best combined, and the most extensive design, that ever was carried on since the beginning

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of the world, against all property, all order, all religion, all law, and all real freedom."

"If Europe could not be saved without any interposition, (most certainly it could not) I am sure there is not an Englishman, who would not blush to be left out of the general effort made in favour of the general safety. But we are not secondary parties in this war; *we are principals in the danger, and ought to be principals in the exertion.* If any Englishman asks whether the designs of the French assassins are confined to the spot of Europe which they actually desolate, the citizen Brissot, the author of this book, and the author of the declaration of war against England, will give him his answer. He will find in this book, that the republicans are divided into factions, full of the most furious and destructive animosity against each other: but he will find also that there is one point in which they perfectly agree—that they are all enemies alike to the government of all other nations, and only contend with each other about the means of propagating their tenets, and extending their empire by conquest."

"In a cause like this, and in a time like the present, there is no neutrality. They who are not actively, and with decision and energy, against Jacobinism, are its partisans. They who do not dread it, love it. It cannot be viewed with indifference. It is a thing, made to produce a powerful impression on the feelings. Such is the nature of Jacobinism, such is the nature of man, that this system must be regarded either with enthusiastic admiration, or with the highest degree of detestation, resentment, and horror."

"Such partisans of a republic amongst us, as may not have the worst intentions, will see, that the principles, the plans, the manners, the morals, and the whole system of France, is altogether as adverse to the formation and duration of any rational scheme of a republic, as it is to that of a monarchy absolute or limited. It is indeed a system which can only answer the purposes of robbers and murderers."